

with strange new slogans. Why should we wait for a peace concluded by governments? Make peace with your German brothers, regiment by regiment, company by company, through fraternization! Why should we wait for the Constituent Assembly? Seize power at once through the Soviets and write your own laws. The agrarian question? Let the landless peasants and farmhands take land wherever they find it. Financial problems? There is money enough in the vaults of the banks! Economic troubles? There will be none if the Soviets control production and distribute the product! Then he turned to organization problems. The Socialist parties have failed miserably. Even the term "Socialist" and "Social Democrat" sound infamous. Let us declare openly that we are not Socialists but Communists—the name of the truly revolutionary vanguard of the labor movement in Marx's time!

Lenin talked on like a man obsessed by a vision. When he finished, before dawn, he asked if there were any objections or questions. For a minute nobody responded. When his eyes met mine, I stood up and said that his program was utterly unrealistic. He was not familiar with conditions in Russia and had not given thought to the implications of the war. He had not presented facts to support his ideas. His peroration was a list of arbitrary catchwords.

Part of the audience applauded, but the majority was not on my side. Lenin listened with a smile, as if to show that he had anticipated precisely these objections. "Comrade Petrov," he replied, "is mistaken when he says I am not familiar with conditions in Russia. On the way from Finland to Petrograd I shared a compartment with a soldier from the front. He told me all I need to know about the war, and I will not trade his words for the lies of reactionary newspapers that Comrade Petrov considers such wells of wisdom." These words provoked a thunderous ovation. Nobody asked for the floor. The meeting was closed.

The next day a joint meeting of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks was called in the session room of the Tauride Palace to discuss the possibility of a united front in the war-and-peace policy. An hour before the meeting the Bolsheviks held a caucus. I attended it as a guest. Lenin was there, with his usual sly smile. Someone asked him about the possibility of an agreement with the Mensheviks. First he declined to open the discussion, then he took the floor, warmed up, and repeated, with minor variations, his speech of the preceding night.

Then everyone went to the session room. The unity meeting had been widely publicized, the galleries were packed, and reporters from all the major newspapers were there. Chkheidze, as the chairman, recognized Lenin as the first speaker. Lenin started with a blank statement: "There can be no pact between revolutionary and counter-